

## Message Text

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16

ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-13 ADP-00 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

USINT CAIRO

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION USUN NY

UNCLAS TEL AVIV 4749

E. O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, IS

SUBJECT: DAYAN SPEECH ANALYZES ARAB- ISRAELI RELATIONS

SUMMARY: MINISTER OF DEFENSE MOSHE DAYAN, SPEAKING AT A JUNE 15 MEETING SPONSORED BY TEL AVIV WORKERS COUNCIL, ANALYZED ARAB- ISRAELI RELATIONS AT START OF 7 TH YEAR SINCE SIX-DAY WAR, LACK OF MOVEMENT TOWARDS POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND CONSEQUENT PRIORITY OF ISRAEL' S MILITARY- SECURITY REQUIREMENTS, AND OFFERED PERSONAL RECOMMENDATIONS ON GOI WEST BANK POLICY. EMBOFF PRESENT FELT THAT AUDIENCE CLEARLY ENJOYED OPPORTUNITY FOR DIRECT CONTACT WITH CHARISMATIC DAYAN. PUNGENT POINTED STYLE AND EASE OF RAPPORT WITH PUBLIC UNDERLINE DAYAN' S LONG EXPERIENCE IN PUBLIC APPEARNCES. END SUMMARY.

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1. ARAB- ISRAELI RELATIONS ARE IN A NEW PHASE CHARACTERIZED BY INCREASING ARAB RADICALIZATION AND EFFORT TO APPLY WIDE-RANGING POLITICAL PRESSURES AGAINST ISRAEL AFTER FAILURE WAR OF ATTRITION, DAYAN SAID. ARAB THREATS OF RENEWED HOSTILITIES, MENACE OF ENERGY CRISIS, EXTENSIVE ARMS PURCHASES FROM WESTERN STATES EAGER TO SOP UP PART OF LARGE ARAB HARD CURRENCY HOLDINGS, UN AND OAU DEBATES ARE ALL SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS OF THIS NEW PHASE. ISRAEL, ACCORDING TO DAYAN, CANNOT DOWNGRADE SIGNIFICANCE OF LONG- RAGE, LARGE- SCALE ARAB ARMS AND TECHNOLOGY PURCHASES, EVEN IF ABILITY FOR EFFECTIVE UTILIZATION CURRENTLY LIMITED.

2. NO ARAB STATE, INCLUDING JORDAN, IS INTERESTED IN REAL PEACE WITH ISRAEL. IN DAYAN' S ANALYSIS, GOI MUST DECIDE WHETHER IT PREFERS A PAPER PEACE INVOLVING WITHDRAWAL FROM SHARM- EL- SHEIKH AND GOLAN HEIGHTS OR PRESERVATION OWN SECURITY AND MILITARY REQUIREMENTS. CURRENT ISRAELI MILITARY POSITIONS ARE ESSENTIAL NOT ONLY AGAINST TERRORISTS OR ARMORED INCURSIONS BUT FOR ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE AND ANTI- AIRCRAFT POSITIONS AGAINST ATTACKING AIRCRAFT. IN DAYAN' S VIEW, AS LONG AS NO ARAB STATE IS READY FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS, MILITARY- SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS MUST REMAIN PREDOMINANT ISRAELI INTEREST.

3. ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS MADE NO OFFICIAL DECISION TO HOLD ON TO SHARM- EL- SHEIKH, GOLAN HEIGHTS OR SPECIFIC WEST BANK TERRITORIES. DAYAN' S OWN VIEW IS THAT THERE CAN BE NO RETURN TO " GREEN LINE" OR TO THE FORMER " INTERNATIONAL" LINES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. HE REPEATED OFFICIAL POSITION THAT ISRAEL WILLING TO NEGOTIATE BOUNDARY CHANGES FROM CURRENT MILITARY LINES.

4. ISRAEL POLICY TOWARD WEST BANK SHOULD BE BASED ON PRINCIPLES HISTORIC RIGHT OF JEWISH PEOPLE TO SETTLE IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA AND MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY REQUIREMENTS IN AREA DAYAN SAID. A " SELECTIVE" PROGRAM OF SETTLEMENT SHOULD GO FORWARD WITHOUT ANNEXATION OR EXPULSION OF ARAB POPULATION. LONG TERM IMPLICATION ACCORDING TO DAYAN, IS THAT, IN EVENTUAL JORDAN- ISRAEL NEGOTIATIONS, HUSSEIN WOULD NOT HAVE OPTION OF REACQUIRING TERRITORY BACK TO " GREEN LINE". THAT LINE AFTER ALL WAS RESULT UNCLASSIFIED

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OF WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, " NOT GOD' S GIFT FROM ATOP MOUNT SINAI."

5. DAYAN OPPOSED UNILATERAL IDF WITHDRAWAL IN WEST BANK TO SECURITY LINE ON JORDAN RIVER ONLY. WEST BANK CITIES WOULD BE HANDED OVER, IN EFFECT, NOT TO THEIR MAYORS BUT TO TERRORISTS. DAYAN FAVORED MAXIMUM LOCAL AUTONOMY BUT

NOT INDEPENDENT ADMINISTRATION, AND REJECTED CONCEPT OF INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN.

6. POLICY REGARDING WEST BANK AND GAZA LABOR FORCE WORKING IN ISRAEL REPRESENTS BEST POSSIBLE SOLUTION UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, GIVING ARABS HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING EVER. DAYAN LAMENTED THAT GOI HAS FAILED TO PROVIDE GAZANS WITH CEMENT FOR LOCAL CONSTRUCTION, NOTING FUTILITY OF INCREASED INCOMES IF ADDITIONAL RESOURCES CANNOT BE USED FOR IMPROVEMENT OF ARAB LIVING CONDITIONS. HE ALSO SCOFFED AT FINANCE MINISTER SAPIR' S CLAIM THAT BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS PREVENT GOI FROM BUILDING NEW CITY AT YAMIT, NOTING EXTENSIVE CONSTRUCTION INITIATIVES THROUGHOUT TEL AVIV AREA.

7. DAYAN BELIEVED THAT TUNISIAN PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA CANNOT CONTRIBUTE TO A SETTLEMENT OF ARAB- ISRAELI DISPUTE SINCE HE LACKS INFLUENCE IN ARAB STATES CONTIGUOUS TO ISRAEL.

8. ISRAELI INTERNAL POLITICS MILITATE AGAINST SUGGESTION THAT DAYAN BREAK FROM LABOR PARTY AND ASSUME LEADERSHIP OF MANY GROUPS SUPPORTING HIS VIEWS. IN PRINCIPLE, DAYAN OBSERVED, PARTY SPLITS ARE NOT CONSTRUCTIVE, HOWEVER, HE COULD NOT SERVE IN NEXT CABINET IF LABOR PARTY ADOPTED SECURITY POLICY FUNDAMENTALLY DIVERGENT FROM HIS CONCEPTS. ZURHELLEN

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\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* UNCLASSIFIED

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SECSTATE WASHDC INFO AMMAN  
BEIRUT  
CAIRO  
MULTIPLE  
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